/40 cont./

292 293 [531] Aside from the tzumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the klíáknaháa, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the tzumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters. [286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, [283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it 291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece 53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four 237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. [192] One of the flowers of the front part, of yellow and orange toucan (tfikã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nanduá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called 291 Remombáchá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita- [114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, 292 called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned 178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism 178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

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/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] [273] [433] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] [437] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [773] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character: it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds: the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform: they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] [114] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for [192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kĩtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kĩtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads fomeia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1948, pp. 162-163.

[171] [192] But the white flour, parí vávé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí morõcí (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use • [026] of the grater.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596 While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[486 of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486 to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/116 cont./
795 oó dyvý yvýtuárendápy. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykey is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 828 179 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

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/125 cont./

756 159 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 184 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear. The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness, against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win women and other things too. They are prayers which any person may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear, a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the "besouro" /born beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic language, quite different from the present one, but understandable to the knowledgeable ones (15).

782 198

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuru pỹtãva flesyrũ; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takuru pỹtãva rysýi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 126 828 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

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782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
• 126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the record-
ing machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /128/ by
him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
776 protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
787 It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
424 substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, de-
tach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away
foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry
house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing
the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of
porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the
domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed
simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of
the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion
and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two
fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganiza-
tion, the explanations given in one village and another concern-
ing the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over
it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater
cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to for-
eigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own
midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for
example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is
going badly nowadays because the white people are not very re-
ligious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have
a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that
to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.